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dancer, and man of great personal courage. He had two wives, Bora and Kuma, but Bora left him during my stay in the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By Kuma he has had three children: Mana and Haya, girls of approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son. Ham, a nephew, about seven years old, also lives in the household. Kar, the next younger brother, is an intelligent young man in his middle twenties who returned from working in the gold fields just before our arrival and who speaks pidgin English fluently. He has two wives, Difa and Yame, but no children. Kis, the youngest brother, like Kar, worked out a three-year contract in the gold fields and speaks pidgin English. He also has two wives, Sunga and Amba, but no children.

Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house shared by War, Kar, and Kis, stands that owned by Yat (household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year or so older than Kar. He is the only man in the hamlet who has learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and has also taken a head. He has two wives, Kafa and Gege, and one son, Njan (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma. There are no other members of Yat's line living in the hamlet.

Very near Yat's dwelling is one owned by Way (household 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties, who has some reputation as a sorcerer. With him live his wife Mbwimbwi, his two adolescent daughters, Famba and Gwanta, and his two young sons, Merik, just weaned, and Kadowan, a few months old. Way also has taken care of his nephew, Gwamp, ever since the latter's father, Takawur, was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape War's wife.

About fifty yards down a steep path from Way's house is the dwelling of Waramus (household 8, family line 7), who is about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He is slightly cross-eyed and has a reputation for sorcery equal to that of Wof. With him live his wife Nawa, his eighteen-year-old son Mes, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Kwos, a boy of about eight, and Yimba, who is the wife of Mes and

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has plenty of opportunity to take material without being discovered, and the fear that she will do so is a strong deterrent to his aggression. In addition to this weapon, she has the support of her own relatives if he maltreats her, particularly before he has paid the bride-price. Finally, she is free to leave him, an act which lowers him in the eyes of the community and is an economic and sexual loss.

Disputes between husband and wife arise for a variety of reasons. A wife may fail to do her share in the economic duties of the household, she may be openly unfaithful, or she may be annoying in a variety of minor ways. The following cases illustrate conflicts between husband and wife. One evening, when the mosquitoes were more plentiful than usual, Kaya began to complain about them. Wof, her husband, became annoyed at her carping and told her to stop. This started an argument which ended by his pounding her on the back with his fist. Kaya began to wail, and Wof left the house.

War on one occasion became angered at one of his wives and thrust a spear through her leg. Mey, who reported the case to me, said that he took care to thrust it into her leg rather than into a vital spot, because by killing her he would lose both a wife and the money he had paid for her. He also reported that before this event she had been very disobedient to War, but that afterwards she was a dutiful wife. Cases of men beating their wives as a result of the suspicion or knowledge that they were unfaithful are numerous. A man does not always react to frustrations imposed by his wife with aggression; he often submits to them. A homely example of such a reaction occurred one night when I was sitting by a fire in front of my house with a group of men. While we were talking, a gong sounded from down the mountainside. One of the men sighed, picked up his net bag, and trudged off. The gong had been a message from his wife telling him to return home immediately.

Since the way in which a child behaves toward his parents as he grows from infancy to adulthood has been described in detail, much of how parents behave toward their children has

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already been told. The status of father and mother is important enough to summarize here, however, even at the risk of repetition. By the time a Kwoma couple marry, they are well aware of the assets of a large family. They know that a son will help with gardening, housebuilding, and the other economic tasks, that, when he grows up, he will stand by them in the struggle against sorcery and in disputes over property, that he will increase the prestige of the family in the community, and finally that he will support them when they grow old. The young couple know that a daughter is also an asset. She will help with economic tasks until she marries and she will also bring prestige to them. Furthermore, her bride-price will bring in shell money which the sons will need to pay for their wives. For these reasons a man and woman set out to produce children as quickly as possible and are gravely disappointed if they cannot do so. Indeed, a barren marriage often leads to divorce.[39]

The Kwoma believe that a fetus is formed from the mixture of the woman's blood and the man's sperm and that repeated insemination is necessary to cause fertilization. They know that the cessation of menstruation is a sign of pregnancy, but do not cease their sexual relations until the woman is big with child. A woman observes certain food taboos during pregnancy. She does not eat certain kinds of fish, flying fox, or cassowary in order to insure a normal and healthy child, and she may not eat birds lest the child grow feathers in place of hair.

When the expectant mother goes into labor, her husband must leave the house, and he and all other men must stay away until the child is delivered. Her own mother is called to attend her, and the adult women of the household or nearby households assist. These women take charge of the baby when it is born, cut the umbilical cord, and bury the placenta under the floor of the house to prevent it from coming into the hands of a sorcerer.

[39] I am not certain whether barrenness constitutes formal grounds for divorce. The fact that there were several couples still married, who had no children except by adoption, suggests that it is not. In two of the four cases of divorce on which I have detailed information, barrenness was given as one of the reasons for the separation.

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721 not the explanation at all. The real reason why the work was
593 undone, she said, was that the woman had spent the morning
578 in the bushes with Kar. War became furious at this, knocked his wife down with his fist, and threatened to spear his brother Kar. Kar denied the accusation indignantly, saying that his wife had merely invented the story to get him in trouble, whereupon he, in turn, clouted his own wife. War was still suspicious, but did not proceed further against Kar. War's
• [586] wife, however, returned in a fury to the hamlet, packed her things, took her young daughter by the hand,[81] and left before War returned. Kar, who had arrived before she left, tried to dissuade her, but did not succeed. When War returned that evening and found his wife gone, he was even
[302] more angry than before. He painted his face with clay and swore that he would not take it off until he had brought her back or killed the man to whom she had fled. The next day he traced her to Yelagu, a neighboring tribe consisting of only six families. He took three spears and set out alone to bring back his runaway wife. Someone warned the Yelagu that he was coming, so that when he arrived there was only a cripple left in the village. War demanded where his wife had gone, but the cripple either could not or would not tell him and offered him a dog and some shell money if War would spare his life. War demanded more money, took it and the dog, and returned home.

721 The next evening War called his friends and relatives together. He distributed the dog meat among them, told them what had happened, and suggested that they go on a head-hunting raid against the Yelagu. He argued that it was a very small tribe and that they were all cowards. He said that it would be a good opportunity for some of the young men who had not yet taken a head to do so. He admitted that he was interested in getting his wife back and teaching her a lesson, and in punishing the man who had harbored her.
[648] Most of those present thought that it was a good idea, but several objected on the grounds that Yelagu was too near

[81] Theoretically she should have left her daughter with her husband, since children belong to their father's hamlet.

I noticed some spears
353 on a rack just under the ridgepole. There was one larger than the rest
411 and ornamented with cockatoo feathers. It was not an ordinary pig spear, but
[237] used only to kill men. I had Mar take it down, and we went back to our house with it where I took a picture of Mar about to hurl it at an imaginary enemy.

619 Earlier in the afternoon we heard someone yelling from a distance.
586 The boys about the house answered it and told us that the Tangwishamp had
[721] stolen a Waskuk woman. There was some excitement about this. They said that in the days before the white government, this would have meant a fight, but that now, if the report turned out to be true, they would "haka court" against the culprits at Ambunti. This morning, as far as we could make out, the story was not true. It seems rather that the Tangwishamp are sending back a Waskuk woman whom one of them had married. She is for some reason unsatisfactory to them. This seems to be accepted by the Waskuk as a perfectly justifiable action.

124 November 20, 1936. A week ago we told the Waskuk that we would like some of the "savvy talks" to come around during the day, and we would pay them as informants. Until then we have worked with them only when they have happened around; the rest of the time we've worked with the kids who are always around the house. As a result of this call at least one of them has been at our house almost every day from breakfast until bed time, and we are nearly
[126] swamped trying to keep up with what they have to say. We are trying to organize our information as we go along rather than leave it in the form of raw notes. As a result it seems to take a great while to record very little, but this seems to be the only way to know where we stand and what questions to ask. During the past few days we have been working on the kinship system. It is not complete, and there are probably mistakes in it. We have also collected miscellaneous bits of information on history,--they have migrated a short distance a few generations ago; headhunting and cannibalism--one

761 A man of Duwus died this afternoon. He was an old man, so it was
534 taken as a matter of course. There was not much talk about sorcery,
[964] although it was agreed that he died of sunga (poison). Just after sundown, the gongs of all the house temberans were tolled simultaneously, as a tribute. It was very effective. War and Way tolled the Rumbima gongs.

824 Enriya had brought back the roots of nank, a swamp grown tree with aerial roots. The bark had been removed. She was whipping it against a tree and shredding it, taking out fine strong threads about eight feet long. War stopped in and took one of the roots.

602 I was down at Mar's when Wof began ranting about, and calling for Uka.
578 There was no firewood. Why hadn't she brought it? After scolding her, he gave her a couple of thumps on the back with the flat of his hand which I could hear distinctly. Uka began crying. Enriya, Awambaka and Yawa were angry with Wof for this. Awambaka told me to go up and fight him. Mar and Gwiyap said nothing.

861 Kum broke Gwiyap's belt by playing with it. Gwiyap, Enriya, and Awa began scolding him for it. He was standing just outside the house. They told him to come and get beaten. Kum stood still leaning on a shovel and did not answer or move. Gwiyap did not go after him.

124 I tried to get Awa to give me kinship terms this morning, but she wouldn't despite/half hour's cajoling and threatening. Tonight at her house, she gave them willingly.

586 Mamoay came through on the way back from Tangwishamp. He had helped the "finish timers" carry their boxes and had gone to collect pay for his no. 2 wife, Tangwahak who had left him to marry a Tangwishamp. The story is that Mamoay beat up his no. 1 wife and no. 2 had run away. When he arrived at Tangwishamp, he found that she and her new husband had gone to Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.